hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

> There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

> A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

105 421 tresses had so many more people to work for them that they became wealthier and wealthier.

592 556 In addition to this, chiefs were able, as major parties in trading, to control large amounts of property. The rich were respected and were called *Nishipa* [the rich] while those who possessed nothing and worked for others were called *Wenkuru* [abominable persons] and were despised.[72] Those who could extend their benevolence to many succeeded in Ainu society while those unable to repay sufficiently had the lowest position. The rich eventually became the village masters or *Kotan Isapane*. This is seen in a story from *Ainu Shinyōshū* called "The song sung by the God of owls himself, around the silver drops."[73] This new leader took the place of the old blood chief by virtue of his wealth and economic power although he was obliged to have proper blood relationships.[74] Since the chief had to stand treat to the village once a year wealth was a necessary requirement for chiefdom. The *HDHS* . . . says: "Once or twice a year, the chief or the man with both wealth and virtue would treat men and women, old and young from neighboring countries with millet wine. . . . This was called *Kamoi Nomi*" [drinking to the gods].

105 554 565 [557] 105 622 [273]

Regulations came more and more to be based on actualities than on custom. Nevertheless, the communal economy among kinsfolk was not entirely gone and the chief had no power of control over each individual except for his *Utare*. He was regarded only as the head of a family which had more *Utare* than anyone else in the village. Vol. 3 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, written in 1622, says, "The chief had only three or four servants to serve him." The heads of other families in the village were entitled to settle their own family affairs without recourse to the judgment of the village chief and the approval of the chief was called for only when a situation involved the entire village or kinfolk. Issues confronting the entire village were settled by a general village conference where the chief was only one of the speakers. However, it was but natural that the more powerful and wealthy of the chiefs, especially those with a large number of relations should extend their power over several villages and the pressure from the Japanese drove the Ainu villages into a conscious union from which there arose chiefs of tremendous power among their people. Yet the Ainu never formed a nation because their economy never developed to the point where it could support a permanent political organization and when they did acquire from the Japanese, the necessary advanced economic techniques, the Japanese were, at the same time, acquiring political control over the Ainu and the subsequent Ainu attempt to form a small primitive nation came to nothing. For example, look at the region along the Ishikari River

178 622 [627] [623] 105 64 000

[72] *Yūkara Kenkyū* 2: 289, note.
[73] *Ainu Shinyōshū*, 1 ff.
[74] Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Aino Potorachi, *Minzoku Gaku* 2: 4.

[p.23(A)]

This policy of giving an official title to the chiefs of those Ezo who had submitted themselves to the Japanese and then letting them rule was a unique policy. Even after the 1669 incident chiefs continued to visit the Lord of Matsumae and present him with gifts. From 1684 to 1687 the natives from west Ezo paid annual visits. In 1731 the Ezo from Etorofu and Kunashiri came, and from 1751 to 1763 the chief of Kushiro came to Fukuyama bearing gifts.

In addition, the influence of the Matsumae was reaching to the more distant natives. Those Ezo chiefs came to Japan at certain dates to visit the daimyō and exchange gifts. This voyage was called *"Shamu Uimamu"* [Japan trade] and the boat used was a *"Uimamu Chippu"* [trade boat]. The sake received was *"uimamu"* sake or idiomatically *"Uimamu tonoto."* The word "uimamu" comes from either the Japanese *uimamu* [initial meeting] or *Omemie* [first meeting].[28] In 1739 the *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

> Each spring they came in a boat loaded with goods to Matsumae to pay respects to the lord. Their attitude was most respectful. After landing at Matsumae they would go to a cabin to rest but never would they go out without seeing the lord. Only after having been received in his presence would they go into town for business. The Ezo of remote areas did not come each year but those living near Matsumae showed themselves every spring.

And from *Watarishima Hikki:* "It used to be that once during his lifetime the *Otona* came to pay the lord a visit. Each chief would bring a gift as tribute and the vessel used for this purpose was especially decorated and called a *Uimamchipu*"; and from *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "When the Ezo came to visit the Matsumae they brought with them goods produced in their region. The Matsumae would give them gifts in return." These trips were also made for the purpose of trading but as the Japanese preferred to interpret the trip in its political sense the visit gradually lost its commercial character and its emphasis became exclusively that of a tribute mission. This, in later years, developed into a New Year's ceremony or a ceremonial audience. Thus, rites were part of the methods used to rule the natives. A typical example is that of Iwanosuke of Kennichi who disguised as an Ezo paid tribute to the lord on January 7 of each year.[29] On the occasion of each visit the Japanese took good care to demonstrate their power in addition to giving many gifts. In a book written in

---

[28] *Ainu Kenkyū*, 53 and Kida Teikichi, Tsugaru ryōnai ni okeru Ezo kankei no shiryō to tomo kenkyū (Historical materials and their study in connection with the Ezo of Tsugaru), *Tōhoku Bunka Kenkyū 2 (2)*.

[29] "To the west of Matsumae is a village called Kennichi where a farmer by the name of Iwanosuke (formerly an Ezo chief by the name of Iwanoshike) has been living for many years. Ordinarily he dresses his hair in the Japanese manner but, when winter comes he follows the custom of the Ezo and does not cut his hair. On January 7 he would visit the lord at the castle where, seating himself on a new mat laid out in the yard in front of the study, he would receive crude sake. This was an old custom of the Ezo." *Ezo Sōshi.*

Feudal Japan AB2

people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*Jomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

A
F
437
439
457
*648
*175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A
[431]
[273]
[276]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A
F
[661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A
F
*C98
[570]
*175
437
439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A
[802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A
F
*648
*175
466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

F
*648 3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our
185 language nor our customs.

A
[177] He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

A
F
*648 He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate
*175 that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion
185 and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

A
[20] 2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and
E [203] tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if
[216] we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

A
[82] 3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and re-
[176] spect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special

F
[195] priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū [b] sect on the mainland and this would

[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

Feudal Japan AB2

[village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Sō Kozukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho*. To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.[9] The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the *Kozukai* of a *Basho*. While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.[10] According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kozukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai*. It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

[9] Tarao Tadaro, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

[10] *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17–18.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A F *C48 439 *175 439

This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,[4] that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

> During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

A F *C48 *175 439 A [466]

The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaihō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

A F 439 *C48 *175 465 ● 273

Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ōu and Hokuriku changed in taste.

[4] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

1:Takakura3 H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB8

enable the mainlanders to make a profit,[21] under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One, Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work

---

[21] "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, *since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit*, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jūichinen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Niikappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchiū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Niikappu basho ni okeru kōeki kakaku wo Bunsei gonen Niikappu hikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Niikappu *Basho* to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

Dried Salmon

A. 3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.
B. 4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.
(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)

Dried Mushrooms

50 for one cup of sake.

50 for one cup refined sake.
15 for one cup unrefined sake.
(One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)
(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)
(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.
B. 56 for one shō of rice.
(One shō of rice equal 56 mon: One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

terrible punishment, for a person thus treated could not possibly do any work or go hunting. He was a burden both to himself and his friends. Many years ago I saw one man who had been thus treated and he had to crawl about on his hands and knees. I have heard also of the very incorrigible being banished to a place they called "The land without trees and birds," which I believe means Siberia. 687

There were also several kinds of ordeal which were applied as punishments on occasion. Thus, 681

(1). *Hot water.* A very large cauldron, such as the Japanese use for boiling fish when they desire to extract the oil, was procured. This was filled with cold water and placed over a big fire. When fairly warm, the victim was popped into it. Here he had to remain till he confessed his crime or till the people thought he had been punished enough.

(2). Another method was to heat water up to boiling point and then make a suspected person thrust his arm into it quickly. If afraid to undergo this test, his guilt was said to be proven. If, however, he thrust his arm into it and received no harm, he was said to be innocent.

(3). *The hot stone.* Sometimes a stone was heated well and the criminal was asked to hold it in the palm of his hand. If he refused, he was considered to be guilty, or, if he took the hot stone and got no harm from it, his innocence was fully established.

(4). *Water drinking.* I was also told that a suspected person or criminal was sometimes made to sit down before a big bowl of cold water and remain there till he had swallowed the whole of it. Indeed, Penri told me that sometimes the man was made to keep his mouth to the bowl till the water was all gone. I should think this would be a particularly severe punishment to some Ainu, for they do not like to drink water, as they are so very fond of whisky. 681 272 273

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

527 774 ed it into sections and commented on each where I considered it best to do so.

"O my very own dear little bear cub, pay great attention to me. The honoured ones who reared thee, the honoured grandmother, too, set before thee much [188] wine and many fetishes, dumplings and precious treasures."

[The honoured ones here mentioned are those who brought the animal up. The honoured grandmother is the woman who, in common with her own children, suckled the cub when it was very small. The fetishes are wands of whittled wood; the dumplings are round cakes made of millet and are to serve partly as food while young bruin is on his way to his spirit home. The precious treasures are beads, dirks, swords and other family heirlooms. They are placed upon the head or about its snout for a time and restored to the owners after the festival.]

"Ascending upon the fetishes in the cluster thou art going to thy honoured father and mother with laughter and joy."

[The honoured father and mother here mentioned are the parent bears, which, though dead, are alive for evermore. For [174] with the Ainu all discarnate souls of whatever kind, animal, vegetable, mineral, organic or inorganic, never die or for one single moment of time lose their own peculiar identity of person.

"Ascending upon the fetishes" refers to the fact that when dead the cub's head is cut off and stuck up on high at the place outside the east end window of the hut where other fetishes are arranged, some old and others new. It is thought to be a great honour to the cubs to be so set up, for there they are at times worshipped and this they like much.]

● [273] "Having made *saké* again out of this wine, thou art going to invite both the near and far-away deities to a grand feast. There will be plenty of *saké* and dumplings, and while feasting thou wilt surely speak good things to the company about us."

[Having rejoined his parent bears in the spirit kingdom, the cub will make a great spiritual feast out of the essences of the viands now to be sent with him, and he will say all kinds of flattering things about his earthly foster-parents and the people who helped first to fatten him and then kill, eat and give him such a happy, festive "send-off." For, be it remembered that this feast is called Iyomande maratto, which means "Feast of sending away"]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 778 cluster outside toward the sunrise, they should be made and consecrated by the fireside and then passed through the window. So, too, when a bear or deer or bird has been killed or any precious gift brought to the house, it ought always to be taken in through the east-end window. Hence it comes to pass that the east window is called by such names as "Window through which fetishes pass"; "Window through which sacred things pass." For these reasons the east-end window [576] is to be very highly esteemed and nothing should be heedlessly thrown out of it. Nor, again, should any person look into a house through it."

342 When the hut is finished, the warming festival takes place in good earnest, and there are beforehand many smiles of pleasurable anticipation. The men and women quickly become very busy indeed, the women outside pounding millet for the dumplings, and the men attending to the religious part. It is very interesting to see the men making their fetishes. Some are told off to make small ones to hang up inside and outside the hut; some make theirs for the fireside, others for the sleeping places, treasure corner, doorways, windows, gardens, springs, rivers and outhouses. And all of them are devoutly worshipped and libations offered and drunk to them. When worshipping them, [264] each man dips his moustache-lifter into the *sakĕ* he holds in his hand ready, and takes out three drops, which he allows to fall before the object being prayed to. Even the pots, pans, kettles, water tubs and the other furniture and utensils are all treated in the same way. Nothing is left out. In the meantime the women and girls have pounded their dough for the dumplings, made it into cakes, and placed it in the pots hanging over the fires upon the hearth.

342 ● 273 Very soon the noise begins. All talk at once and drink deeply. Even the women take *sakĕ* then, and sometimes give a little to their children. Some of the men are very fond of neat alcohol, and this is so

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

strong that it very soon makes them fall over drunk, where they lie and sing or sleep. Over the fireplace there hangs a frame upon which cereals and other things are put to dry. Unless one is careful, this is liable to catch fire and give trouble. I now quote part of a letter an Ainu wrote me a little while ago which bears on this point.

"On the evening of November 20 a house-warming feast was held at Fu. The people drank a great deal of *saké* and neat alcohol and many got intoxicated. Some of the stuff caught fire and the newly-made house was completely burnt down." This was a terribly hot hut-warming festival!

Did the people stick to their old native millet beer, no harm would be done, for there is very little alcohol in it. It is the colour of milk and quite thick. The taste is a trifle sour, but it is very fattening. But as for the Japanese *shōchū*—neat alcohol—it is a real danger in every way. I knew of a man—and I am telling no mere fairy tale—who one day took home a big bottle of this *shōchū*. Arrived there, he sat down by his hearth and forthwith began to do what he would call a "great enjoyment." He soon toppled over near the fire and here his breath caught fire and there was spontaneous combustion. His whole house quickly went up in smoke!

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

262 251 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon, *masu*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

[241] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner, and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit, which the Ainos called *maou*. These fruits belong to the genus *Rosa*, and the Ainos eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear, which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks in this manner.

SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore stories, it would seem that the Ainos have long known how to make a kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at [177] present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[415] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The pecul- 413 iar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainos, as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainos at Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a question how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are certainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not interfere with their proper use by the people.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

Saké is taken with much ceremony. One evening I visited the Ainos at Shari, a bottle of saké in my pocket and a paper lantern in my hand. I wandered along the shore in the darkness and slowly made my way to the Aino village. In spite of the howling and barking of many dogs, the people were taken by surprise. The men were sprawling about on the dirty board floor around the rectangular fireplace. When they recognized their uninvited and late visitor, they got up, spread a clean mat for me, and signified their welcome by stroking the beard. When I handed them the saké there was more beard stroking. Then they got some saké cups and a tray of mustache-sticks, finer than any I had seen, and began the ceremony of drinking. A saké cup with its stand, such as is represented in Fig. 77, is placed in front of the chief

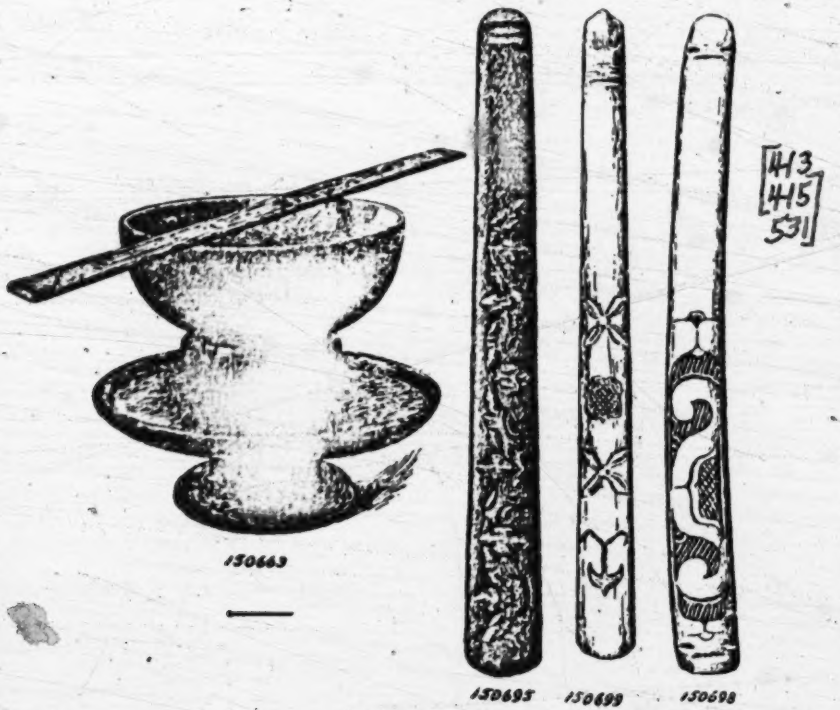

Fig. 77.

SAKÉ CUP AND STAND, AND MOUSTACHE STICKS.

man, sitting on the floor before the fire, who places one of the sticks across the top, as shown in the same figure 77. Then, stroking the beard, he lifts the stand and cup with both hands, and bows the head, immediately replacing them. Saké is then poured in, and he begins to recite a long formula, which continues in a low voice during the succeeding operations. Taking the stick in the right hand, precisely as one would hold a spoon, the end is dipped into the saké and gracefully moved for-

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

273
276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

[413]

No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

[354]

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

276
534

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

[562]

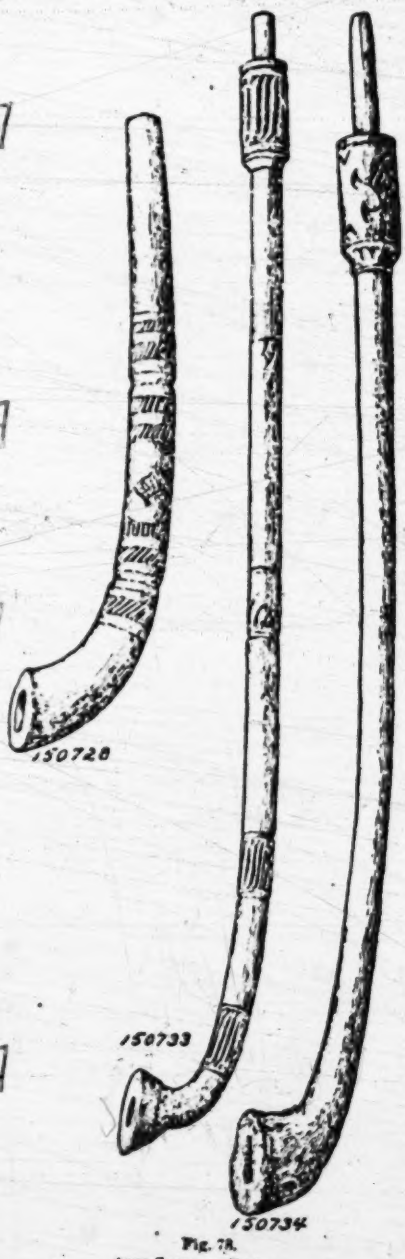

Fig. 78.
Aino Tobacco Pipes.

273
796
782

Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

of the hut, where the Aino treasures are kept, and then three drops must be offered to any special god, for whose benefit the libations are offered, or to whom the Ainu are paying worship." I have not observed any such regularity in their proceedings. I should say they were as likely to offer two or four drops instead of three. 273 776 782

The saké drinking at the great Aino bear feast, as witnessed by Dr. Scheube, is described in the account of that festival.

SMOKING APPARATUS.

The smoking apparatus consists of very simple wooden pipes, and tobacco boxes also of wood, attached with cord to long, carved sticks, which may be stuck in the girdle. Several pipes are shown in Fig. 78. The pipes may or may not have a short mouth-piece of bamboo. 276

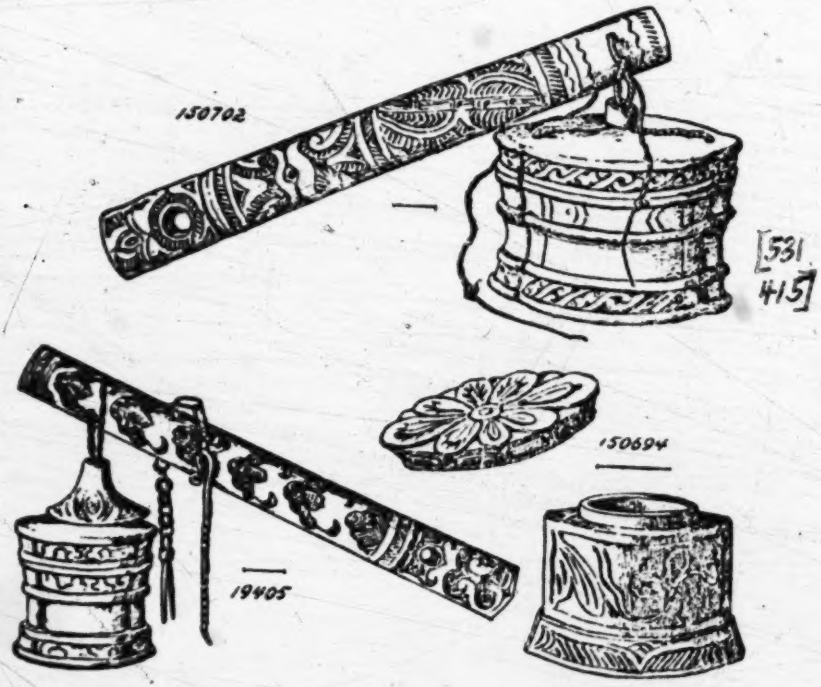

Fig. 79.

TOBACCO BOXES AND STICKS.

The tobacco boxes are usually oval in shape and often very well carved. In Fig. 79 three of these are well shown, attached to their sticks.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to the palm of his hand, and he nearly went off his head with delight. He sprang and jumped and yelled, and then ran some way off, where he squatted on the sand, still in admiration of the blue dab on his hand, still grinning at intervals with irrepressible enjoyment. Where the point of the joke was no one but himself ever knew.

When the picture was finished I had no little trouble to keep the many fingers of my audience off the wet painting. Moreover, some person endowed with kindly feelings threw a handful of sand in my face, which nearly blinded me for the moment and partly ruined the two pictures I had painted. The money and the buttons were duly paid to Angotsuro and I moved on.

That same evening I went out for a walk. It was a very dark night, and I love dark nights. When for some years you have done nothing but see strange things and new places there is indeed a great fascination in going about in complete darkness; it rests both your eyes and your brain. I walked for some time along the beach, stumbling against the canoes drawn on shore and against anything that was in my way. Hut after hut was passed, but everything was silent; there was not a sound to be heard, not a light to be seen. The Ainu are early people; they retire with the sun. I walked on yet farther and farther afield, till through the thatched wall of one of the huts I discerned a faint light. I stood and listened. The sad voice of a man was singing a weird, weird song, the weirdest song I have ever heard. Then came a pause, and another voice, even more plaintive than the first, continued the same air.

What with the strange melody in the hut, the soothing noise of the waves gently breaking on the shingle, and the distant howling of dogs or wolves, the mystic effect was such that I could not resist the temptation, and I crept into the hut. A fire was burning in the centre, but it had almost gone out, leaving a lot of smoke. Three old men were sitting on the ground. They decidedly looked as if they did not expect me, but, after their first astonishment was over, they asked me to squat down in a corner, and there I was left to amuse myself, while they resumed their singing and drinking. Of the latter they seemed to have had enough already; but, all the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

same, several wooden bowls, about five inches in diameter and two deep, were passed round and emptied in no time. The more they drank, the wilder and more melancholy the song became. Only one at a time sang, and he would begin in a very low tone of voice and go up in a *crescendo*, gradually getting awfully excited; then all at once he would stop, as if the effort had been too great for him. His head drooped, and he seemed to sleep. Then, suddenly waking up, coming back to his full senses in a startling manner, he drained one of the bowls, which meantime had been refilled, and resumed the song. The three men were facing each other, and so absorbed were they in their music that, though I was not more than four feet away from them, they seemed to have forgotten me altogether.

I was so impressed with the strangeness of the song that I pulled out my pencil and paper to write down the air. As there was no light but the flicker of the fire, I turned the white leaf of my sketch-book toward it to see what I was writing. This caught the eye of one of the men. He woke up, startled from his musical dream, jumped to his feet, and made a dash for me, yelling some words which I did not understand, and holding over my head something that I could not distinguish at the moment owing to the dimness of the light. Standing thus he paused, evidently waiting for an answer to something he had said. It came from one of the other fellows, who pushed him so violently as to send him sprawling on the floor, while, what he held in his hand—a big, heavy, pointed knife—fell and stuck deep in the ground about an inch from my toes. A dispute arose among themselves, but among the Ainu everything ends up in a drink. The large wooden bowls were again refilled; grand bows were made to me, and they all stroked their hair and beard several times—a sign of great respect. I was then handed one of the bowls and made to swallow the contents. But, heavens! never have I felt any liquid work its way down so far. Had I swallowed fire it could not have been as bad; and, indeed, it was neither more nor less than liquid fire.

As the night was wearing fast, and the old fellows had got on well with their drink, the sing-song became rather too languid and monotonous; and I crept out of the hut as quietly as I had entered it, not without first giving the inmates something for their trouble. I had some difficulty in

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

finding my way back to my less musical quarters; and passing too close to some of the other huts, the dogs—which infest all Ainu villages—barked furiously and roused the whole place.

I learned afterwards that it is an Ainu fashion to try a man's courage. This is done in the way in which my musical friends tried mine, namely, by making a sudden rush with a knife as if death and destruction were imminent, which to a perfect stranger, unconscious of the strain of "bluff" in the action, is not very reassuring. If the person to be tested is aware of this fashion he has to submit to an unlimited number of whacks, administered to him on his bare back, with a heavy war-club. These tests of a man's courage and endurance are called the *Ukorra*.

In the first instance it is done, in a certain sense, good-naturedly, and not meaning to hurt one. Should, however, the person apparently so dangerously threatened show fright or signs of cowardice, he loses the respect of the Ainu, unless he has the happy thought of giving them a sufficient quantity of some intoxicating liquor to make them all drunk—which is a sure means of turning the most inimical Ainu you may meet into your fast friend, even if you have had a deadly feud with him.

The second way—with the war-club—of course is a painful process, and the Ainu have recourse to it when it is necessary to determine the relative amount of courage possessed by certain members of a community. The one that can stand the greater number of blows is naturally entitled to the respect and admiration of his neighbours, and he is elected leader in bear-hunts or similar expeditions. At the election of a new chief—when the chief's line of descendants dies out—this process, I was told, is often practised; for bravery is the first quality which an Ainu chief must possess.

At Aputa, through some of the half-castes, I was able to pick up a great number of Ainu words, which were most useful to me afterwards; and from that, gradually increasing my stock of words, I soon knew enough to understand a little and also to make myself understood.

One day I went along the coast to the next village of Repun, and then retraced my steps to Aputa, as there was nothing of interest at the former place.

An excursion which I enjoyed more was to the Toya Lake,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

piteously. The most trying part for me was, of course, to keep serious during this long tragi-comic performance, and I was indeed glad when it was all over; when my supremacy was acknowledged, and my immunity from further insult secured; when submission had been made, and such whips and stings of outrageous fortune as might come from the painting of a fish had been humbly accepted.

The Ainu are gentle and mild by nature, but, like all ignorant people, they are extremely superstitious, and superstition is a powerful excitant. Nevertheless, they are good people in their own way, and it must not be inferred from this small experience of mine that they are bullies, for they are not. The superstition regarding the reproduction of images is common all through the East, with the exception of the Japanese, and in many parts of Europe itself strange ideas are connected with portrait-painting. In Spain or Italy many a girl of the lower classes would think herself dishonoured if she happened to be sketched unawares, or if her picture were shown without the consent of her parents, brothers, relatives, and the parish priest.

However, these Horobets Ainu are said, since civilisation has set in in that part of Yèzo, of late years to have become untrustworthy and violent. They are more given to drunkenness than their neighbours, as they can procure from the Japanese stronger beverages than their own. *Sake* (Japanese wine) of inferior quality is sold and exchanged in large quantities, and has the same fatal effects on them as rum—our fire-water—had on the American Indians.

I was not sorry to leave a village which had displayed so little appreciation of my art. I took two ponies and two pack-saddles, to one of which was lashed my baggage, while I sat on the other. Riding is a delightful pastime when you have a good horse and a good saddle; but not when you have to look after two vicious animals, and are yourself perched on a rough wooden pack-saddle. Moreover, Ainu pack-saddles are perhaps the most uncomfortable of their kind. The illustration shows one of them. It is made with a rough, solid wooden frame, of which the front and back parts are semi-circular. One large hole is perforated in each of these to allow ropes to be passed through. Under this frame are two

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

"a cliff," and *Tori* "a residence." As in all Ainu villages, the huts are in one line, some few yards one from the other. Each has a separate structure—a small storehouse built on piles—generally at the west end of the hut.

On my arrival at Piratori, I was welcomed by Benry, the *Ottena* (chief) of the village, who invited me to his hut and *salaamed* me in the most solemn manner, not forgetting to mention incidentally that "his throat was very dry," and that *sake* (Japanese wine) could be obtained from a Japanese who lives opposite to his hut.

"He is a bad man," said Benry confidentially; "but he sells very good *sake*."

The *sake* was procured, and Benry, beaming with joy, poured it with his shaky, drunken hands into a large bowl. He then produced a wooden stick, shaped like a paper-knife, about five inches in length, and waved it in the air five or six times with his right hand, dipping the point of it each time into the fluid. "*Nishpa*"—sir, master—said he. Then, leaning forwards and lifting up his heavy moustache with the small stick, he swallowed the contents of the bowl at a draught. The same performance took place each time that some fresh *sake* was poured into his bowl, and then Benry, with an inimitable cunning, and a comically self-sacrificing expression on his face, meekly enquired whether I would care to see "how much an Ainu could drink."

"Yes," said I, "we will go down to the river, and you shall show me there if you can drink it dry."

"Yie, yie, yie"—no, no, no—hurriedly replied in Japanese the Ainu chief; "water is too heavy, and I meant wine." Owing to this small difference of opinion, and having no wish to encourage him in his drunkenness, Benry's capacity for intoxicating fluids is yet unknown to the civilised world.

Benry's house is a palace compared to other Ainu huts. It is much larger than most of them, and boasts of a wooden floor, in the centre of which a rectangular fire-place is cut out. The hut has two windows, one toward the east, the other opening to the south; but no chimney is provided as an outlet for the smoke. A hole in the west corner of the roof answers this purpose. The rough wooden frame is thatched with tall reeds and *arundinaria*, and the roof is shaped like

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

getting filled, and each man that entered first saluted the landlord, then Benry, then myself, and ultimately the two guests between whom he sat. Women and children occupied the darker west end of the hut, and they took no active part in the function. Other chiefs came in, and Benry was surrounded by many of them and by elderly men.

The whole group of these chiefs, with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque.

In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, yet not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still having curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.

The performance was simple, but really fine in its simplicity. A fire burning in the centre of the hut, and filling the place with smoke, added, by its suggestive dimness, to the picturesqueness of the scene. It was strange that the only ray of sun which came in should fall on the most interesting group. Was it chance or design? Rembrandt himself would have delighted in painting that scene.

Benry looked every inch a king, and several of the younger men were busily engaged lighting his pipe and refilling it with tobacco. He puffed away at such a rate that no sooner was the pipe filled than it was smoked and handed over again to undergo the same process.

Two large casks of Japanese *sake* were brought in, and each man produced his wooden bowl.

The host came slowly forward, and planted an *Inao*—a willow wand with overhanging shavings—in one corner of the fireplace; then muttered a few words, which implied that the *sake* could now be poured out. A Japanese lacquer rice-box was filled with the intoxicating liquid, and no sooner had this been done than old Benry, forgetting his dignity, jumped up and made a rush for it, filled a large bowl, and retired to a corner to drink it. All the men present followed his example. Benry was never selfish when he had had enough for himself. He filled his bowl again and brought it to me, saying that

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively—in sign of salute, to the host, Benry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance, called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A Japanese towel often takes the place of the native manufacture. I am inclined to think that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tokachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

BOOTS TO BE SOAKED IN WATER SO AS TO TAKE SHAPE OF FOOT, AND TO BE KEPT UP WITH A STRING.

DEER-SKIN SHOE.

THE TARRA OR HEAD-BAND.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent, but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

EFFIGIES

778 776 782 796 a thankful prayer to Kamui Fuchi, with the usual burnt offering of a backward-shaven *inau*. Then from four to six bunches of curled shavings are affixed to the *kamui*, and four fresh small-winged *inau* are set up at the soul *nusa* with an outspread-shaven *inau* between each pair. The *kamui* is taken out by the sacred window, receives due thanks, and is gently dismantled at the *nusa*. The *inau* body is erected next to the outspread-shaven *inau*, with its face to the east. Praise and thanks are again given to it and to the important *kamui*. Sometimes an extra offering is made, of a yeasty substance (*kamdachi*) and the kind of millet (*piyaba*) usually used [273] for brewing. When the sacred beer was available, libations of it might be poured, but the yeast and millet were given so that the *kamui* might, if they so desired, brew for themselves.

[755] [761] If a hand-made *kamui* has proved inefficient, that is if after it has been invoked to cure sickness the case becomes hopeless, the *kamui* is dismissed, and if a sudden death occurs is dismissed immediately. In such cases the ritual is curtailed, a scanty allowance of two curled *inau* is enough, without fresh *inau* at the *nusa*.

[763] Sometimes, however, when the life of a comatose patient seemed to be needlessly prolonged by the help of the *kamui*, it was given ritual dismissal without reducing the reward, so that the dying person might have a happy release. It is also said that an aged man or woman lingering hopelessly ill would request ritual dismissal for the *kamui* to whom appeal for help had been made. In such a case full honours were accorded.

778 776 532 There are three brothers who have similar effigies (Pl. VII, fig. 3). The most commonly invoked is the Protector of Vigour and Welfare (*Seremak kopungine shutu-inau Kamui*). He has the conventional mouth of the winged *inau*, a flattened belly, nine wings, two sets of curled shavings and a sword and spear of mugwort. The second, One who Rears or Trains (*Urespa*), is specially concerned with the health of children, but is seldom invoked except in the case of a long illness. The third, Achievement or Success (*Usapki*), whom I have never seen, was formerly invoked for success in hunting and fishing.

[824] The remaining *kamui* of this type differ mostly in the material used. For additional defence of the doorway the same kind of effigy is made either of elder or of *Maackia amurensis* (*chikube-ni*) the bast of which has an odour which is curiously repugnant to some people and is believed to repel evil spirits. Another *shutu*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

In this case the rite seems more important than the spell, for when I asked Kotan-pira whether the words addressed to the evil spirits were always the same, he said that verbal change did not matter; the important thing was having the vigour of the magic odour (*sekusa mawe eseremak koro*).

After the house had been built in accordance with the traditional techniques, and protection from evil spirits assured by means of the prescribed ritual, two more ceremonies were necessary before the house-warming could take place. The brewing of the sacred beer was indispensable till the government prohibited it. This deprivation is deeply felt by the Ainu, mainly, it is always said, because the ancestral *kamui* can no longer enjoy the offering of the ancient beverage in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never omitted at any religious festival. The importance of the ancestral cult is demonstrated by the fact that the Ainu feel more strongly about the deprivation on account of the ancestors than on account of the other *kamui*. However exalted they may be, sacred beer is not considered necessary for their worship.

Inau-korashkoro means literally 'our sacred fermented liquor'. It is sacred not merely because it is (or was) protected in the making by *inau*, but because it was a *kamui* in its own right. That elastic word is applied to millet and other sustaining foods, and also to anything especially striking or remarkable. The sacred brew did something most remarkable, it went to the head and stirred the heart to wondrous exhilaration. It was made, I am told, only for religious ceremonies, and then under its inspiration the Ainu felt at one with their gods. It is true that there was a *kamui* of doubtful character (to be mentioned later) who sometimes lurked in the south-east corner and caused trouble on festive occasions by bemusing some of those with weak heads, but the brew has a low alcoholic content and could not have been entirely responsible.

Though the brew is no longer made, it will be convenient to describe its making in the present tense. First an elder gives a backward-shaven *inau* to Kamui Fuchi, burns it on the hearth and beseeches her to protect the process from the magic of malevolent spirits and promises her the first sip of the beer.

Either of two kinds of millet, *piyaba* or *munchi*, may be used, the former being preferred. For a gathering of about fifty persons, male and female (though the women drink little) about thirty pounds of millet are used; of this about two-thirds are ground in

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 ●273 the mortar and the rest mixed unground with the meal. About six pounds of the mixture are boiled to the consistency of porridge, poured into a long shallow trough, and when cooled to about blood heat mixed thoroughly with the yeast.

342 273 415 A tub (*poro shintoko*) about three feet in diameter and more in height, usually lacquered outside and provided with a lid, is the usual vat, and sometimes two of these are used in case fermentation in one should fail. The mixture of boiled millet and yeast, amounting to about ten pounds, is poured into the vat while warm and enough water stirred in to make it quite thin. The tub, which is placed to the south of the sacred window, rests on a layer of millet chaff about six inches deep and is kept in position with folded mats. Before the lid is closed live embers from the hearth are put in. The tub was formerly covered with deer skins, but garments have been substituted. It is further protected by the skull of an [789] albatross, cormorant, or good fox, which has been taken to Kamui [776] Fuchi for her blessing. This is one of the spirit helpers mentioned above (p. 23). Sometimes swallow-wort is chewed and spat round the tub, or a piece is put on top, and sometimes a sickle is placed to frighten any evil spirits that may be hovering round. A band of twisted shavings, two tied together and called *e-ukut inau*, is put round the tub, though in some places not till after the straining process. Sometimes tassels of curled shavings are hung from the band.

Every day for about a week the tub is opened and the contents are tested. On the second day about double the quantity of mixed porridge and yeast, with water in proportion, is added, and the rest on successive days according to how the fermentation is progressing. Should it become prematurely sour some of the wrappings are removed. It is left for another week or more and is then strained.

776 342 273 778 796 [782] Straining (*inumba*) is a ceremonial affair with a special ritual. Before it begins, six beer-straining *inau* (Pl. II, fig. 3) are made. Four of them are set up, one at each corner of the hearth, a fresh backward-shaven *inau* is given to Kamui Fuchi, and in a short prayer she is asked to protect the brew during straining and to bless it for the good of all. After the straining these four *inau* are given some of the lees in their mouths and, after the ceremony, are burnt. The two other *inau* are assigned to the guardian spirits of the door.

000 At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them.

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes.

The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 576 527 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 527 The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with children at (13).

[554] When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to the gods begins. First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 527 782 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. It is noteworthy that whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[411]

[301] [789]

[1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782
342
527
[764]
[823]
[775]
[769]
[778]
[273]
[533]
[789]
[827]

proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

342 527 782 [292] [789] [582]

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

342 527 782 177

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

342 527 782 273 [769] [796] [115]

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

342 527 782 554 [516]

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

[177]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

and performance of each rite as esoteric. Just as no man is permitted to have knowledge of a woman's secret girdle, so no woman is permitted to pry into the awe-inspiring secrets of religion, that of the Divine Wife being the most secret. Its performance is carried out under the name of Metot-ush Kamui, Ritual Salutation. Several elders told me that the worship of Metot-ush Kamui is ostensibly of that deity alone, but that anyone might include a *kamui* of his own choosing. Those who took part in a particular worship could claim mutual hospitality. This led me to make further inquiries, and I found that those who worship a particular *kamui* with this ritual claim descent from a common ancestor.[1] The members of the cult address each other in terms of relationship rather than those of formal politeness. The fact that the place-name of a local *kamui* is more prominent than its own name, always coming first in prayer, may indicate a common local source of lineage. Nevertheless, the rite does not provide conclusive evidence of blood-relationship, for an Ainu of good repute may be adopted by any group which possesses a secret ritual. It should be noted that in the worship of Metot-ush Kamui the winged libation wand is marked by the ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*). No stranger may use the ancestral badge but it may be given to an heir adopted by a childless man. The sign and rite are complementary, together constituting proof of blood relationship in Ainu eyes and justifying the warm mutual sentiment of the group. However, the winged libation wand is not used for the second secret ritual salutation of the *kamui*. After the libations and prayers to Metot-ush Kamui it is returned with the half-emptied cup through the sacred window. For the secret rites an ordinary libation wand is used, as it is for most *kamui*. Formerly the elder officiating at the ritual salutation stood with bare feet on the frozen ground or snow. This ceremony cannot be performed without the sacred beer, and the government probably tolerates the brewing of a small quantity.

While all these rites are being performed outside the house, only moderate drinking is allowed inside lest there should be a breach of decorum before the ceremony of Falling Tears. The etiquette of drinking (*iomare*) which is still strictly observed, is as follows. The

[1] *Pase ongami shine ekashi shinrit uko-koro* may be translated as: 'In the ritual salutation all have one *ekashi* in common with the ancestors', and *Kamui nomi epeka u-iri Kuru* as 'On account of this *Kamui nomi* ceremony persons are of the same family'. Similar expressions are used in connection with the women's secret girdles.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

796
782
273
576

host holds out the cup to be filled, usually by his wife. He does not drink it, but raises it in salutation and passes it across to his *vis-d-vis* in the double row of male guests. The latter receives it, raises it in salutation, drinks from it and hands it to the man sitting next the host. He has it filled and follows the host's example. Thus the cup passes in zigzag fashion down the line. Two cups are used if the line is long. When one row has been served the other is served in the same way.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

782 distinct celebrations.[1] What may seem anomalous is that a common
574 meal should be eaten before it is offered to the *kamui* and to the
769 spirits of the dead. But to treat these spirits with disrespect is the
776 last thing the Ainu would dream of doing, and the anomaly dis-
[178] appears when we look into the matter more closely. The food is cooked by fire, that is to say by Kamui Fuchi, now called Abe Kamui, and by her partner or other self, Iresu Kamui. Thus all the comestibles (I am not sure about the tobacco) are ritually offered to Kamui Fuchi before they are eaten. She represents the ancestral spirits, who are often spoken of as 'Those Dwelling Beneath the Hearth' (Abe-ra-un Kamui), and it is the Ainu belief that the good things set apart for the ceremony have already been offered to the Ancestral Host. To make assurance doubly sure, however, they are taken outside for service to those whose bodies have vanished underground.

[262] Reference has already been made to the types of food eaten at these feasts. Those now considered most appropriate are a stew of meat or fish with vegetables, dumplings or cakes of millet (*shto*), fish and fish roe, often with fat, and some wild fruits such as chestnuts. All foods are placed on trays, partly on the ashes of the hearth below the fire but not at the lowest end and partly on a sacred mat close to the hearth (text fig. 4 (15)); this is an act of ritual offering. Before the great ritual salutations the householder prays briefly to Kamui Fuchi for permission to take her food. After the trays have been laid for a short time near the head of the hearth, cups or bowls of the stew are handed to all the guests in turn. The women are served after the men, first the old women sitting behind the housewife and then the younger ones on the
● [273] opposite side (text fig. 3 (12 and 13)). Moderate drinking goes on but all should be quiet: *Kamui nomi teksam a more*—'At service to the gods respectful calm'.

769 The guests remain seated in order as before and preparations are
778 made for the ceremony. The *chisei-koro inau*[2] which has been stand-
782 ing on a large sacred mat (text fig. 3 (9)) is saluted by those
574 assembled and then removed to near the treasures by the north wall, to which it will later be affixed. The old name for this pro-

[1] The following account is local and is based on observation supplemented by information given by several of my teachers. I have omitted slight variations. —N.G.M.

[2] See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VI, p. 72.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

778
796
769
782
[776]

prayer he drops a little on his headband and sword. He then drinks a sip and passes the cup to his wife. From a cup of heaped up lees moistened with beer he places a little on the 'mouth' of each *inau*, using the libation wand. In a short prayer he tells the spirits what he has done, after which he deposits tiny portions of the offerings on the ground near the *inau*. Lastly he makes a queer little speech, ostensibly to the ancestors, but generally regarded as intended for any evil spirits who might intrude. Before making the speech he takes some dry lees in his hand, and while and after speaking sprinkles them about. All the elders whom I questioned explained the practice by saying that it both deceives and placates envious spirits.

[576]

We saw that the householder, after taking a sip of beer, hands the cup to his wife. She swings it slightly upward, draws her right hand across her lip in salutation, and gives drops of beer to the four *inau* and the ground at their feet. She again swings the cup, salutes in the same way, takes a sip and hands the cup to the next woman. She and the other near female relatives do the same and the cup is returned to the householder, who may take another sip. He gives the cup to his wife and returns to the hearth. There a fresh cup is brought to him and he takes a couple of mouthfuls. He then makes a salutation, tells Kamui Fuchi that he has obeyed her command, takes one of the two remaining backward-shaven *inau* from the hearth and puts it in the fire. At this all the men make the ritual salutation. The last *inau* remains till the end of the festivities which follow the ceremony.

[273]

Meanwhile the women at the *nusa* continue the offerings to the ancestral spirits. When the householder leaves, his wife takes his place. When she receives the cup from him she may take another sip, but pours the rest of the contents on the ground. Now the cup is filled afresh for each woman. Ainu women drink little, and on occasions such as this each one takes a sip and pours the rest into a small receptacle (*shintoko-po*) for her husband to drink later on.

The housewife offers food and tobacco to the ancestral spirits, placing them on the ground near the inau, and afterwards sprinkles dry lees. There is no prayer, but a woman may call the name of a matrilineal ancestress should she choose to do so. A few near relatives of the housewife, perhaps four or five, take her place in turn and perform the same rite. Those who are less closely related

769
574
782
887

moderator during the revelry. He is therefore selected from among the most respected elders in the village. A sword is brought to him and he is led by the hand to his place. He salutes Kamui Fuchi, and the householder salutes him, making a long speech of welcome and thanks for taking care of the sacred beer, here called Tonoto Kamui. During this speech they both rub their hands to and fro, occasionally raising them slightly, and afterwards giving the full ritual salutation. The controller (as we may call him) then salutes Kamui Fuchi and prays to her at length for protection of the new house and help to its inmates. He then addresses the householder, also at length, thanking him for his hospitality in the new house, and expressing his best wishes and his confidence in the solicitous guardianship of Iresu Kamui. After this both salute respectfully.

[576]

The householder than takes the controller's hand and leads him to the beer-container under the sacred window. After mutual salutation he again takes him by the hand and leads him to his seat behind the container where, with his back to the wall, he faces the room. Before sitting down he salutes Chisei-koro Kamui. The householder sits facing him and asks a young male relative to escort the various elders to their new positions in a double row along the east wall, one row facing the other (text fig. 5(2) and Pl. XVI, fig. 2). There are special titles for those sitting near the controller and host, but as they merely indicate position they can be omitted. Each guest salutes Chisei-koro Kamui before sitting down. The advantage of this arrangement is that it leaves room for dancing. If male guests are very numerous extra rows may be arranged, but the main rows along the wall constitute the proper wassailing party (*Shi-iku u-eshopki*). When all are reseated the real drinking begins, with excessive indulgence on the part of most. The householder, whose proper title here is liquor-bestowing person (*sake sange guru*), takes an empty cup, raises it and rubs it, all present making salutation with their hands. This is the signal for the housewife to fill the cup, which the householder hands to the controller. The latter throws some drops of beer towards Chisei-koro Kamui with his libation wand, lays it on the rim of the cup pointing towards Chisei-koro Kamui, and says a prayer of the usual type requesting blessing and protection. Then he gives some drops to his sword and headband, addressing a short prayer to each, in which he affects to be ignorant of the proper manner of

[554]

574
769
273

[782]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

769 drinking and asks for protection. After this, beer is served cere-
273 monially (*iomare*) to each member of the two main rows, beginning
[782] with those nearest to the two chief functionaries. Each guest may offer a libation to either Chisei-koro Kamui or Kamui Fuchi but not to both; nor may they make prayers to them.

273 Next, the controller opens the ball with a song and dance. The
574 householder takes him gently by the hand, raises him, and leads
769 him to the front of the beer-container. His dance, which is called
535 *tapkara*, consists in lifting the feet and putting them down some-
887 times in the same place and sometimes to the front or side. This
[533] is accompanied by a 'song without words', a chant of a subdued but musical kind. Different elders have their special chants, taught them, it is said, by their ancestors. While dancing, the elder holds his arms up and wide apart, slightly bent at the elbows, and moves them a little to the side and up and down. He dances first facing the sacred window; this is for the *kamui* represented at the *inau*-fences outside. Then he moves to the north side and dances to Chisei-koro Kamui. Returning, he dances to the hearth and may dance a step or two towards the south before resuming his seat. The last is perfunctory but the general performance is obviously a ritual salutation to the benevolent dieties. Sometimes a woman of
[562] middle age or over, not his wife, follows close behind the elder, imitating his steps and salutations, and two or even three women may do the same. Only women of the highest character can take part in this sacred performance. The householder leads the controller back to his seat.

It is customary at this stage of the proceedings, when the alcohol is beginning to make itself felt, to pay some attention to the mischievous spirit in the south-east corner. A salutation in that direction may serve to prevent unseemly behaviour.

Others may now take a turn on their own account, to their own
[558] vocal accompaniment. Although this dance and song (*sake-hau*)
535 might seem quite artless, it needs practice to acquire not only the
273 steps but the modulation of voice, trill and change of timbre.
574 Elders are quick to notice and despise a clumsy performance, and some consider it an insult to the ancestral spirits, who in their previous existence knew what dancing ought to be.

769 As the liquor mounts to heads, talking and singing become
[533] general. The confusion of sounds is aptly compared to 'the noise of frogs at the beginning of summer'. The women, who seldom

535
273
574
769
[533]

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

drink much, form a circle round the lid of a large beer-container and have a good time singing *upopo*.[1] This is a kind of round or canon, a voice or voices starting to repeat the theme before it is finished while others carry it on. This anticipation of the fugue is very interesting. The women thoroughly enjoy themselves and some of the voices are beautiful. Their delight extends to the dance, both affording a change from the drudgery of life with freedom of emotional expression in the rhythm. The *upopo* is sometimes both song and dance, and other dances have sometimes a line or two of song or some syllables to aid vocalization. There is quite a repertoire of dances, and while *tapkara* go on at the upper end of the room the women and younger men may dance round dances (*rimse*) round the lid of the beer-container and eventually round the hearth. The round dance is always danced sun-wise; it is wrong and unlucky to dance in the opposite direction. It is not only the young who take part in the dancing round the fire; one may see men and women of 70 or 80 taking part with evident enjoyment. Dancing may go on till the small hours of the morning but the crowd has thinned out before then.

796
769
574
273
887

Towards the end of the proceedings there are some ceremonial observances. One is raising the beer-container (*uko shintoko raye*). The contents of the large container are mostly poured into a smaller one, which is raised by a young man and presented to the controller. He takes two bunches of twisted shavings, whirls them round in the vessel from right to left and then winds them round his neck or ties them to his headband. He changes place with the householder, takes an almost empty cup and points a libation wand with a few drops of beer on it in the direction of the mischievous spirit, to which he makes a hypocritical address. He then pretends to drink up the contents of the empty cup. With a cup filled by the housewife he then offers a libation to Chisei-koro Kamui, uttering a long prayer of thanks and repeated request to guard the house and promote the welfare of all therein now and in the future. He does not drink from this cup but gives it to the householder, and the process of passing drink along the rows continues. Formerly

[782]

[1] Many *upopo* consist of a single phrase; some contain several, but the sense is seldom fully apparent. An example is *chupka wa kamui ran wa nitek ka ceu, iwai atui isam ko tanne mau turi*. This may be translated, I hope not too freely: 'From the east the god descends, alighting on the tree-tops. From the shore a zephyr reaches out along the many seas.' The word I have translated as 'many', *iwai*, means 'six', but I think it may be so rendered.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

178
273
887
796
769
574

THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

formerly

the housewife was given the same kind of twisted shavings, also dipped in the beer, but this is not often done today.

All departing guests perform the ritual salutation. Those who remain form a small double row at the head of the hearth, like that before the ceremony began. The beer-container from the head of the hearth, still holding a little beer, is replaced on the sacred mat. It is then customary for those of the women who have remained at the lower end of the room to perform a farewell dance. This is traditionally the last dance at all festivals. It is called *hararaki*, or doing *harara*, because it is always accompanied by the sound rr-rr-rr, which represents the whirr of birds taking to flight. The dance is mimetic. Each performer, holding the ends of her sleeves between her fingers and palms, imitates the flapping of wings, swaying her body so as to move her outstretched arms alternately up and down. It is obviously intended to represent a flock of birds; what birds? Some whom I have questioned recognize imitation of birds without curiosity as to their kind. It seemed to me possible, however, that it represented the departure of the souls in the guise of birds at the end of the feast, and when I mentioned this to Nisukrekguru and asked him to recall any bird which rose to flight in this manner, he suggested wild geese. He also recalled instances in the old legends of souls taking the form of birds after death. This was in answer to a question but, though leading questions must be used discreetly if at all, the instances immediately cited were quite convincing. I should add that at festivals this dance is performed only at the end, though it is sometimes danced for amusement at other times. At the Bear Festival, however, the elders dance the *tapkara* as a farewell to the departing spirit of the bear.

769
535
574
796
[825]

When the large beer-container is empty it is removed to the north-east corner; the last backward-shaven *inau* is burnt, and the sacred mats are deposited near the wall on the north. There, too, the *chisei-koro inau* comes to its final resting place, being stuck high up in the thatch of the wall.

574
769
[778]

A few friends cluster round the hearth listening to tales of olden times. There are still some Ainu who are fairly conversant with the sagas and legends, and whose recitations, with emphatic taps on the hearth-frame, invite eager attention. Engrossed in tales of the past, they fail to notice the passage of time. I have called at five o'clock on a December morning, and several times later, to find a

574
538
769

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

The following is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight.

Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)[1] which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*[2] for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse[3] with a single chopstick set up in the middle.

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are

[1] *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

[2] *Panicum crusgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

[3] It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

764 [576] (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[554] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders [782] specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse [782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before [262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, [177] formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc., and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays [178] with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting [273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a 264 *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the [276] corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and [537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

known well and by whom the observer was taken care after during their life time. The ritual seems rather to have been a family affair. In either of Azuma and Otopuke, principal ancestors to be worshipped were '*ekashi* and *huchi* of the household', that is father and mother of the male household-head. In the days of their traditional life it was held on such an occasion as the bear ceremony for which wine was brewed. It was usually carried out by 'close relatives' who voluntarily came together to participate in it after finishing the bear ritual. The social aspect of the ancestor ritual in the traditional age still remains unexplained. KUBODERA (1951) and MUNRO (1962) give some data on the subject in the later period.

53 It seems certain—in fact, all informants agree on this point—that among the *pishun utaru* (coastal people) the number of hunters specializing in bear hunting, with grounds and huts mainly for that purpose, was very small in proportion to that among the *kimun utaru* (interior people). As a matter of fact, the *pishun utaru* also went hunting deer, and incidentally bears if any, on neighbouring plains and hills. What characterized them most was, however, the practice of sea-fishing.

Reports have already been made with reference to the Saru valley on the customary division of the fishing ground into sections with *kamui*-spirits attributed to each (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 30-31). The same practice is found to have prevailed in the Mukawa valley, where, it must be noted, the division and the *kamui*-spirits attributed were in close relationship with the ecology of the game and the methods of fishing employed by the Ainu.

Yanke tomari and *repun tomari*.—Of this only a small area near the river mouth, known as *tomari*, was for actual exploitation. This was the area where the outflowing river current kept the waters relatively free from wind and waves. Here smaller fishes, such as dace and grey mullet, came together and provided a favourable site for seining. At the Mukawa *tomari* only the people of the river's *pishun kotan*, Chin and Immope, habitually went fishing with seines, of which they possessed each a set in common. Measuring '22-23' fathoms in length, these nets of nettle fibre was made under the direction of each headman from sections assigned to each family in the group. Except in winter, seining was done occasionally whenever the people liked. It was a day's work going out from the settlement and back. *Repun tomari* was the zone of waters lying next to *yanke tomari*; here hinder mountain tops could be seen above fore hills. This was the field of activity for *repun tomari koru kamui*. In one area of the zone near Huihap Cape, which bordered on the territory of the Saru river group, good fishing was made of rays and plaices by setting stretch-rope hung with lines. The sea-bed there is said to be favourable for the habitation of these fishes. Only a few families of the